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MINORITY NATIONALITIES IN COMMUNIST CHINA

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ESTABLISHMENT AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE INNER MONGOLIAN AUTONOMOUS REGION

[This is a translation of an article written by the "Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region General Condition" editorial committee as it appeared in Min-tsu Yen-chiu (Studies in Nationalities) monthly, Peiping, no 12, 4 December 1959, pages 25 - 35.]

The establishment of autonomous governments by regional nationalities is a basic policy of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman MAO for solving the problem of Chinese nationalities by applying the Marxist-Leninist theory concerning nationalities. Under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, on 1 May 1947, the Mongolian nationality and the various other nationalities in Inner Mongolia established the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region thereby setting up an autonomous government by the regional nationalities. The Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region is a part of the big family of the unified People's Republic of China. It is an autonomous region which consists chiefly of the people of the Mongolian nationality plus those of the Han and other nationalities which take the socialist and communist road under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party.

The Gradual Formation of the Unified Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region

The Inner Mongolian autonomous government of the regional nationalities was gradually brought into realization following the victory of the Chinese revolution. It went through four stages: first, the stage in which the movement of autonomous rule by regional nationalities was carried out, a preparatory period for the establishment of the People's Government of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region; second, the stage of the liberation war; third, the stage of economic restoration; and fourth, the stage in which big economic construction was planned, socialist reform carried out, and people's communes established.

The stage from the establishment of the United Association of the Inner Mongolian Self-Government Movement to the establishment of the people's government of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region (from the time of the Japanese surrender to April 1947) was one in which the nationalities policy of the Chinese Communist Party was widely and deeply spread, great numbers of nationality cadres were trained, the masses of people were mobilized and the people's strength was fortified, thereby paving the way to the people's government of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region.

In November 1945, the United Association of the Inner Mongolian Self-Government Movement was established in Kal-gan. Work among the masses in the Hsi-lin-kuo-leh [Silingol] League and the Ch'a-ha-erh [chahar] League was begun and the so-called "Provisional Government of the Inner Mongolian Republic" with Mongolian traitor Pu-yen-ta-lai as its head was dissolved.

On 3 April 1946, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, the United Association of the Inner Mongolian Self-Government Movement held a meeting in Ch'eng-teh at which the question of the relationship between the liberation of the nationalities in Inner Mongolia and the Chinese people's revolution was discussed, and through which an unanimous understanding was achieved. Moreover, at the meeting the East Mongolian Autonomous Government was dissolved and the various self-government movements were thus unified.

In April 1947, more than one year after the launching of the self-government movement, the Inner Mongolian People's Congress was held in Wu-lan-hao-t'e. In that congress, the people's revolutionary line was adopted. Through a democratic election by the deputies, the People's Government of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region was established. Comrade WU Lan-fu [Ulanfu] was elected the head of the government.

The stage from the establishment of the People's Government of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region to the establishment of the People's Republic of China (1 May 1947 to October 1949) was one in which the people were mobilized to defeat the American and CHIANG reactionaries and the victorious achievements of the people of Inner Mongolia were protected. It was, in other words, a period of war for liberation. In this period, the policy of the

united front was formed and carried out to widely unite the peoples of all nationalities and all classes; the self-government of regional nationalities was strengthened; the troops of the People's Liberation Army in Inner Mongolia were developed and fortified; the old-fashioned army was reformed into a people's cavalry which, in cooperation with the Chinese People's Liberation Army, smashed the mad attack of the reactionaries of American imperialism and Kuomintang; and the victorious achievements of the people of Inner Mongolia were safeguarded.

To liberate our productive forces which had been controlled by the feudalistic system, support war, improve the people's living conditions and respond to the people's demand, between 1947 and 1948, we undertook land reform in the agricultural areas, launched a great production movement and expanded the agricultural cooperative movement. In the cattle-breeding areas, we carried out the policy of free grazing, increasing and protecting the cattle, of non-struggle and non-distribution of property, non-classification, and of mutual benefit for the cattle tender and cattle owner. We also organized the cattle breeders into cooperatives thereby developing the cattle-breeding industry. Meanwhile, we carried out the policy of freedom of religious belief, protected the temple-owned property, encouraged the lamas to study, take part in labor and practice medicine, and called upon them to join patriotic movements. It was also in this period that the Chao-wu-ta League which originally belonged to Jehol Province and Cheh-li-mu League which originally belonged to Liaopoh Province were re-incorporated into the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region.

From the establishment of the People's Republic of China to the time prior to the making of great economic construction plans was the stage of economic restoration. With the establishment of the People's Republic of China, the whole territory of Inner Mongolia was liberated. Under the unified leadership of the Central Committee of the Party and with the guidance of Party committee members in the various districts, the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region undertook economic restoration work and continued until it completed its task of land reform and democratic reform in the cattle-breeding areas. When the task of democratic revolution in the whole Autonomous Region was completed, its economy was restored and developed and its people's living conditions were greatly improved. In 1952

the Central Government decided to allot Tuo-ts'ang, Pao-ch'ang and Hua-te, three hsien which originally belonged to Charhar Province, to the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region.

From 1953, at the beginning of the First Five-Year Construction Plan, to the present time is a stage in which a great pattern of socialist economic construction has been under way and in which socialist transformation has been completed. In this period, the socialist transformation of the agricultural, cattle-breeding and handcraft enterprises as well as the capitalistic industrial and commercial enterprises was carried out.

In 1954, the Central Government decided to abolish Suiyuan Province and incorporate its territory into that of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region. In 1956, the Central Government decided to incorporate the Mongolian Autonomous Chou in Pa-yen-hao-t'ie and the Mongolian Autonomous Banner in Ngo-chi-na to the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region. Both of these places originally belonged to Kansu Province. Hence the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region satisfactorily completed its task of undertaking regional self-government and brought to an end the historical division of the nationalities in Inner
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The establishment of the unified, autonomous, regional government of Inner Mongolia is extremely significant to the development of the Mongolian nationality and the other nationalities in the region. The unification of the nationalities in Inner Mongolia and the establishment of a central leadership organ for political, economic and cultural development have greatly strengthened the units and self-confidence of the people of the Mongolian nationality and heightened as never before their understanding of patriotism and internationalism. Such a unification and establishment have also enabled the people of the Mongolian nationality as well as those of the other nationalities in the region to express their positiveness and creativeness for the construction of a socialist fatherland, and created extremely important conditions for the overall development of the peoples of these nationalities.

In the process of undertaking regional self-government by the peoples of the various nationalities in Inner

Mongolia, following the regional nationality autonomous government policy of the Party and Government and on the basis of the demand of the peoples of the minority nationalities in the region, we have also established the Olunchun Nationality Autonomous Banner, O-wen-k'o Nationality Autonomous Banner and Mo-li-ta-wa-ta-kan-erh Nationality Autonomous Banner. The establishment of these autonomous banners has further strengthened the unity among the peoples of these minority nationalities themselves as well as that among the peoples of all the nationalities in the region. It has enabled them to love more ardently the great fatherland and the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, raised their positiveness for the construction of a socialist fatherland and an Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region and facilitated the prosperity and development of the peoples of the various nationalities.

The Fulfillment of the People's Wish for being Masters Themselves

With the establishment of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, the wish of the peoples of the various nationalities in Inner Mongolia for becoming their own masters was fulfilled. Under the Party's leadership, these peoples positively and step by step reformed the old political order and established a new political power. In the Land-Reform Movement, the system of the conference of people's representatives was established in the agricultural areas. After the abolishment of the feudalistic privileged class and through a democratic election, the people of the cattle-breeding areas began to hold the political power. In 1954, on the basis of the people's conference system, deputies of people's congresses of all levels were elected.

During the whole process of reforming the old political order and establishing the new political power, we eliminated all the reactionaries who were determined to oppose the people and united the people of all classes including those of the upper class so as to make the political power on all levels in the autonomous region one of the people's democratic dictatorship. We also constantly strengthened the people's democratic dictatorship by all kinds of socialist reforms and anti-counter-revolutionary movements.

The "nationalization" of the autonomous government

organs is a necessary condition for the peoples of the various nationalities in the region to enjoy the privilege of being their own masters. It is also an important link for the autonomous government in the region to closely unite the peoples of the various nationalities and carry out the directives and policies of the Party and Government according to the characteristics of the people of a nationality and those of a district.

The "nationalization" of the autonomous government of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region was first seen in the percentage of nationality deputies in the people's congresses and the people's councils at all levels through which the peoples of the various nationalities exercise their rights. In April 1947, the Inner Mongolian People's Congress, which was held in Wu-lan-hao-t'e, elected 21 members of the People's Government of the Autonomous Region. Of this number, 18 were of the Mongolian nationality and three were of the Han. This percentage was in harmony with the internal and external conditions of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region at the time. Such a ratio of the Mongolian and Han deputies was beneficial for the adjustment and improvement of nationality relations and for strengthening the unity between the Mongolian and Han peoples.

Later, because of the unification of the autonomous region, the gradual expansion of its territory and the change of the ratio of the populations of the various nationalities, the percentage of nationality deputies in the autonomous government was properly adjusted. In 1958, 436 deputies were elected to the Second Inner Mongolian People's Congress. Of this number, 160 were of the Mongolian nationality which was 36.67 percent of the total number of deputies, 36 were of the other minority nationalities which was 8.2 percent of the total, and 240 were of the Han nationality which was a little over 55 percent of the total. This congress, in turn, elected 45 members of the People's Council of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region. Of this number, 20 were of the Mongolian nationality which was 44.4 percent of the total number, three were of the other minority nationalities which was 6.7 percent of the total, and 22 were of the Han nationality which was a little less than 49 percent of the total.

This fact has clearly shown that in the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, the people of the Mongolian

nationality are the dominant constituent body, those of the Han are the majority and those of the other nationalities are the minority. It has also enabled us to experience the new relationship of equality, unity, mutual help and common development among the peoples of all the nationalities.

The people's congresses and people's councils at all the levels below that of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region were organized according to the local conditions of whether a given area was populated entirely by the people of the Mongolian nationality, or by those of the other minority nationalities, or solely by those of the Han, or by the mixture of both the Mongolian and the Han, or by the mixture of all the nationalities. In any case, a local people's congress or people's council was organized on the basis of the size of the population with deputies or members of the majority nationality as the dominant constituent body or with equal representation. Special care was accorded to the minority nationalities so that they too would have some representation in the local congress or council.

The training and employment of nationality cadres in great numbers is a basic condition for the "nationalization" of the autonomous organizations. It is also an important aspect of the Party's cadre policy. In the past 12 years, the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region has relied heavily upon the old cadres who took part in the first and second national revolutions as well as in the Sino-Japanese War. Through the discipline of actual struggle, through training in the various cadres' schools, through class education, Marxist-Leninist education, MAO tse-tung thought education and through the study of the Party's nationalities policy, more than 26,000 cadres of the Mongolian and other minority nationalities in the region were trained. This number is a little over 16 percent of the total number of cadres. These cadres take positions in Party and Government organizations and in economic and cultural departments. Many of them have even taken the leadership positions on the various levels. For instance, 57.2 percent of the positions of heads and deputy heads of the banner and hsien levels are taken by these cadres, 55.8 percent of the positions of chiefs and vice chiefs of the league level are also taken by them. And likewise, 32.5 percent of the positions of directors of grade one departments and bureaus and higher

positions in the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region are also filled by these cadres. All of these cadres are of the Mongolian and the other minority nationalities in the region.

The great majority of these cadres were trained a little before or after the establishment of the autonomous Region. In the various socialist reforms and economic and cultural construction, they faithfully carried out the directives and policies of the Party and Government, united the masses of the various nationalities, worked positively and served important functions. Furthermore, through work and struggle, they constantly disciplined themselves and raised their own understanding.

On the basis of "nationalization" of the autonomous government organizations and facing the constant development and need of the socialist construction cause in the Autonomous Region, the Party and the People's Government have continued the training of nationality cadres in great numbers and proposed that the nationality cadres be all led toward the goal of Communism. At the present time, the cadres of the various nationalities in the Autonomous Region are making efforts to march forward toward the goal of being communized.

The Mongolian language is the greatest characteristic of the Mongolian nationality. It is also an important instrument for undertaking self government and for developing the economic and cultural enterprises. Ever since the establishment of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, the use and development of the Mongolian language has always been considered an important task. A decision has also been carried out that in the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, all the business of national organs and enterprise units, social communication among the people, cultural and educational activities as well as all publications must be conducted in the Mongolian and the Han languages. The Inner Mongolian Party Committee called a special meeting in 1953 to discuss the question of nationality languages and issued the "Directive for Opposition to Neglecting Nationality Languages and for Further Strengthening Them." Meanwhile, a series of measures was taken to establish Mongolian language schools, Mongolian language research centers, Mongolian language translation institutions, and increase Mongolian translators, organize the cadres to learn the Mongolian language,

use the Mongolian language as the tool for teaching and for eliminating illiteracy. This has enabled the Mongolian language to go through an unprecedented development. It has also facilitated the Mongolian people to exercise their rights for self-government, raise the political awareness and cultural standard of their cadres and masses and develop their economic and cultural enterprises.

At the same time, we have mobilized and organized the cadres and masses of both the Mongolian and the other minority nationalities in the region to learn the Han language. At the present time, a part of the cadres of the non-Mongolian nationalities are able to use the Mongolian language while the vast majority of cadres of the Mongolian and the other minority nationalities in the region are able to use the Han language. This is very significant in strengthening the unity and cooperation among the peoples of the various nationalities, in exchanging and absorbing the advanced Han culture, and in facilitating the development of the economic and cultural enterprises of the Autonomous Region.

The Establishment of a People's Cavalry and a Local Public Security Corps

In the process of struggle for liberation and for regional self-government, in the first and second Chinese revolutions and in the war against the Japanese invaders, all the peoples of the various nationalities in Inner Mongolia, under the leadership of the Party, established their own armed forces, dealt blows to the enemies and took part in the nation's revolutionary war. Especially after the Long March of the Red Army to Northern Shensi, an army was organized in the I-k'o-chao League which consisted of soldiers of the Mongolian and the Han nationalities and another army was organized by the Red Army during the war against the Japanese when it entered the Ta-ch'ing Shan and established a revolutionary base for continuing the war against the Japanese. These two new armies continued to fight until the Japanese were defeated.

After the victory in the war against the Japanese and with the establishment of the United Association of the Inner Mongolian Self Government Movement, we fortified and developed the experienced army, which has as its major constituents the troops of the Red Army and the guerrillas,

Moreover, we had to reform our out-of-date army and change it into a people's cavalry under the leadership of the Party. All this was done in accordance with Chairman MAO's directive for "Establishment of the Minority Nationalities' Own Armies for Safeguarding the Wellbeing of the Masses."

After the Ch'eng-teh Meeting which was held on 3 April 1946, the troops in Inner Mongolia were unified following the unification of the various self-government movements in the region. At the time, the tasks which were to be accomplished by the unified Inner Mongolian army were: to help the Red Army to smash the attack of the American imperialists and CHIANG Kai-shek, liberate the land in Inner Mongolia, eliminate the reactionary armed forces throughout the region and safeguard the self-government movement of the peoples of Inner Mongolia.

To accomplish these tasks, in addition to developing the experienced troops, the reform of the out-of-date troops became an important task. A great part of Inner Mongolian troops were built up and trained in the old fashion. In these troops, with the exception of some officers, intellectuals and soldiers who came from families of working people and who had certain revolutionary consciousness, there were many reactionary elements. For this reason, these troops had to go through a reform "from old to new".

At that time, the Party issued the "fighting-training" directive, namely to reform the troops through fighting in actual revolutionary war plus political training. They had to do actual fighting while receiving political training. Some troops fought first and received political training later. Others received political training first and fought later. After fighting, they received training; after training they were sent out to fight.

Since the training of troops was done through actual struggle, a clear distinction was made between enemies and friends. As a result, a number of reactionary elements was liquidated, a number of cadres of the working class was promoted and the Party organization as well as a political work system was established.

After the Land-Reform and the democratic reform in the cattle-breeding areas, great numbers of liberated farmers and cattle-breeders joined the army and injected

extremely important new blood into it. This enabled the out-of-date army to speed up its reform and become a people's army with understanding, discipline and fighting power. We thus victoriously accomplished the task of reforming the out-of-date army into a new one.

In May 1949, this reformed army was gloriously incorporated into the Chinese People's Liberation Army. In August of the same year, at a meeting called by the Chinese People's Liberation Army's Inner Mongolian Military District, comrade Wu Lan-fu issued a call "to struggle for the establishment of a regular people's cavalry of the MAO Tse-tung pattern." The troops in Inner Mongolia responded to this call with concrete action.

The Inner Mongolian Cavalry had taken part in the liberation war and grew strong through fighting from the very first days of its organization. In 1947, it joined the major forces of the People's Liberation Army in the autumn and winter offensives on the Manchurian front. In 1948, it took part in the siege of Ch'angch'un and Mukden as well as in the battle in Western Liaoning until the complete liberation of Manchuria. It also joined the major forces in North China to liberate the southern part of the Hsi-lin-kuo-le [silingol] League, and took part in the battles of Peiping and Kalgan, and in cooperation with brother troops, liberated Chang-pei and regained Sheng-tu.

Through military action and political demoralization, the Inner Mongolian Cavalry thoroughly liquidated the thousands upon thousands of bandit troops who had had a long history in Inner Mongolia. In 1947 and 1948, it took part in the struggle for the Land-Reform and for the elimination of the feudalistically privileged class in the cattle-breeding areas. It thus protected the mass movement of the peoples of Inner Mongolia, mobilized the people to positively support the liberation war and facilitated the complete liberation of Inner Mongolia.

From May 1947 to August 1950, this cavalry took part in more than 600 battles, big and small, annihilated over 20,000 enemies, captured over 20,000 horses and more than 10,000 guns and rifles of all sorts. Through these battles, the Inner Mongolian people's cavalry was greatly trained and disciplined. During the days of battle, its officers and men often moved and slept in the grassland with snow two or three feet deep and fought enemies in

40 below zero weather. Although the material conditions were extremely difficult, the soldiers never complained. In fact, as soon as they joined a battle, they were filled with a fearless and heroic spirit. This cavalry has, therefore, become an iron force of the people, worthy of its name.

The Inner Mongolian People's Cavalry is not only a heroic fighting army but also a diligent working and production army. Wherever it goes, in addition to fighting battles, it positively helps the local masses with their production and is heartily welcomed by them. Since our nation entered into great patterns of economic construction, the cavalry has taken part in all types of productive construction every year with its great manpower and material power as a common effort with the local people. As a result, the relationship between the soldiers and the people has been very intimate and the people consider the soldiers as their own sons.

The Inner Mongolian people's public security corps was organized as soon as the Autonomous Region was established. This corps also went through the process of reform and development from old to new and from a small to a big force. After the founding of the People's Republic of China and according to the stipulations of the Common Program and the Constitution, this corps became a local public security unit under the authority of the nation's unified military system. In the past 12 years, it has closely associated itself with the Party's central tasks of the various periods and eliminated the remnant bandits and fought national and foreign enemies who were either in the open or in disguise. It has also safeguarded peace and order in the Autonomous Region and protected the security of the frontiers of our fatherland, protected our economic construction and national defense construction, preserved the achievements of the Autonomous Region and fortified the people's democratic dictatorship.

The Development of a New Relationship Among the Nationalities

Since the establishment of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, under the shining light of the nationalities policy of the Party and the Government, the relationship

among the various nationalities has gone through a basic change. With the accomplishment of the revolutionary and construction tasks of the Autonomous Region in the various periods, there was a change in class relations as well as in nationality relations. The historical oppression and discrimination of one nationality by another was gradually eliminated and the new nationality relationship of equality, intimate unity, mutual help and common development grew through the revolutionary war against common enemies, through class struggle and through the common effort at productive labor. Now we have entered into a new historical period of socialist nationality relationship of great unity, cooperation, common effort in labor and mutual development.

In the period of the liberation war, the bandit troops of CHIANG attacked the Inner Mongolia area. They raped, robbed and murdered the working people everywhere they went. To oppose our common enemies - the American imperialists and the Kuomintang reactionaries - the soldiers of the Mongolian and Han nationalities fought shoulder to shoulder and the peoples of the two nationalities supported the liberation war with one heart and one mind. As a result, they liberated their land which had been occupied and tramped by the reactionaries, protected their own well-being and formed an intimate friendship between the two nationalities with their own blood.

Democratic reform and agricultural and cattle-breeding cooperation have changed production relationship and the nationality relationship has also gone through a profound change. The federation of workers and farmers and the mutual help of farmers and cattle-breeders have laid a new foundation for nationality relationship, strengthened the friendship among the nationalities, and sped up production development. In the past, because of the conflict existing between farmers and cattle-breeders, there had always been quarrels between the Mongolian and Han peoples, between the farming area and cattle-breeding area, in semi-agricultural and semi-cattle-breeding villages and in the neighborhood where there was a mixed population of the Mongolian and Han peoples.

With the accomplishment of democratic reform and thorough implementation of the Party's nationalities policy, the Mongolian and Han peoples together overthrew the people of the landlord and feudalistically privileged

classes who endangered the unity among the nationalities and caused the conflict between farmers and cattle-breeders. They also carried out agricultural and cattle-breeding cooperation plans, established over 3,000 nationalities joint cooperatives, unified the planning and management of farm land and grazing ground thereby basically removing the conflict between farmers and cattle-breeders.

Moreover, because in the nationalities joint cooperatives we emphasize the development of the special production skills of each nationality member, the Mongolian members have learned agricultural production technics from the Han members, the Han members have learned the cattle-breeding experience from the Mongolian members, and both the Mongolian and Han members have learned rice planting from the Korean members. Thus the conflict between farmers and cattle-breeders has become mutual help between the two and a new nationality relationship has been further developed.

Since the change of nationality relationship, many new events have taken place in the farm land and grazing areas. For example, because of a drought in 1951, grass did not grow well and the cattle in the grazing area South of Hsi-lin-kuo-le League had nothing to eat in the winter. The Han farmers in the neighborhood farm land voluntarily prepared rooms and stables to welcome those cattle-breeders and their cattle to spend the winter with them. This moved the cattle-breeders greatly. In 1952, the next year, those cattle-breeders organized a group to visit the farmers and expressed gratitude to them. They were all moved and said: "Only under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman MAO are we Mongolian and Han peoples able to have such an intimate unity today."

With the development of socialist industry and commerce, the old urban-rural relationship has undergone a change which has, in turn, affected the nationality relationship. The Mongolian and the other minority nationalities in the region who had very few workers in the past have more than 15,000 workers at the present time. They and the Han workers work in the same factories, operate the same machines, and labor, learn and live together. They mutually help each other and have further strengthened their class friendship and nationality unity.

From personal experience, the peoples of the Mongolian and the other minority nationalities in the region have realized the benefits of industry. They are heartily grateful to their Han brother workers for their help and have contributed their rich grazing land to the government for the purpose of establishing mines and building railroads. They have also helped the investigation teams to find mineral deposits and safeguarded the forest land in the Great Hsing-an Mountains day and night.

The transformation of privately-owned industrial and commercial enterprises and the establishment of socialist commercial networks have greatly improved the production and life of the peoples of the Mongolian and other minority nationalities in the region. A great number of young factory staff members and workers of the Mongolian and other minority nationalities have joined the commercial front. The development of socialist industrial and commercial enterprises has thus played a great role in strengthening the unity among the peoples of the various nationalities.

The all-people rectification movement of 1957 and the industrial, agricultural and cattle-breeding great leap forward as well as the establishment of the people's communes in the farming and cattle-breeding areas since 1958 have enabled the nationality relationship to undergo a further change. During the all-people rectification movement, the peoples of the various nationalities together smashed the attack of the rightists of the capitalist class and criticized and repudiated local nationalism and the great Hanism which had been harmful to the unification of the fatherland, the solidarity of the nationalities, the socialist enterprise and the common prosperity of all peoples of all the nationalities. This greatly heightened the patriotic spirit and the socialist and communist consciousness of the cadres and masses of the various nationalities, and improved unprecedentedly the unity and friendship among the peoples of the various nationalities.

The industrial, agricultural and cattle-breeding great leap forward and the establishment of the people's communes in the farming and grazing areas have further developed and strengthened the socialist nationality relationship of great unity, cooperation and the common effort in labor and progress. In the grazing areas, the Mongolian members of the people's communes take charge of grazing

the cattle while the Han members are in charge of raising cattle feed or engaged in handicraft production. In the farming areas, the great majority of the people's communes have become united ones with peoples of all the local nationalities as members.

The industrial, agricultural and cattle-breeding great leap forward and the establishment of the people's communes have also greatly expanded the area of unity and cooperation among the peoples of various nationalities. In 1958, when the Red Star People's Commune in T'u-mei-t'e Banner suffered a great flood disaster which damaged its production and caused difficulties in the lives of its members, the Nationalities Unity People's Commune sent its members, as a gift, 50,000 chin of beans, another 50,000 chin of cabbage, and 100,000 chin of cattle feed. When the banners and hsien in the Wu-yuan and T'u-t'eh-ha agricultural areas were short of fuel and fertilizer, the Wu-la-t'e-ch'ung-hou United Banner and Ch'en-pa-erh-hu Banner in the cattle breeding areas collected more than 1,000 million chin of cow and sheep manure to support them. When the grazing areas in the Pa League and the Hsi League were in need of cattle feed and superior quality breeders, the people's communes of the farming areas in the same leagues contributed great quantities of cattle feed, grass, hay and selected some superior quality breeders for them and these were sent to them along with some technicians. Such a relationship among the city, the farming area and the cattle-breeding area, among industry, agriculture and the cattle-breeding enterprises, between the banner and hsien and between the league and the city has been increasingly expanded following the development of socialist construction. The great leap forward and the establishment of the people's communes have facilitated the development of the socialist nationality relationship over a greater area and to a more advanced degree.

With the change of the relationship among the various nationalities, the unity among the Mongolian people themselves and that among the people of each of the other nationalities have also been unprecedentedly strengthened. The elimination of exploitation of one class by another has enabled the people of the Mongolian nationality and those of the other nationalities to be united among themselves as never before. All the people of the upper class in a nationality who could be united with the people have been united in the people's democratic united front and have

been given proper care in their work and life. Meanwhile we have subjected them to a long-range and patient education and reform and have mobilized their positive spirit.

Marx and Engels declared in the Communist Manifesto: "With the elimination of exploitation of one man by another, the exploitation of one nationality by another will also disappear. With the removal of class opposition among the people the hostility among the various nationalities will naturally disappear." The development of nationality relationship in the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region is exactly a clear illustration of this truth. Although the classes have been eliminated, there are still differences among the people's of the various nationalities, the actual problem of inequality among them is still to be solved and the relationship among them is still to be continually adjusted and taken care of. Such a nationality relationship is, however, basically different from that of the past. As a member of the big family of the People's Republic of China - our great socialist country - in which the system of exploitation of one class by another has been wiped out, the new socialist relationship among the peoples of the various nationalities in the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region will continue and speedily grow and develop.

The Struggle Between Two Roads

The process through which the peoples of the Mongolian and the other nationalities in Inner Mongolia have striven for liberation and for regional self-government has been a complicated and difficult struggle. In the past 300 and more years, especially in the last 100 years, in order to maintain their evil rule, the Manchu government, the warlords of North China, the reactionaries of Kuomintang, the imperialists and the feudalistic powers within the Mongolian peoples themselves adopted the reactionary policy of political division and rule, economic robbery and exploitation, military suppression and cultural enslavement, toward the people of the Mongolian nationality and those of other nationalities in the Inner Mongolian region. Moreover, they did everything possible to undermine the relationship among the people of each nationality and that among those of the various nationalities, and create division and hatred among them. As a result, the peoples of the various nationalities in Inner Mongolia suffered great

calamities, their social production strength was destroyed, they lived in extreme poverty, their various cultures were damaged and their existence was repeatedly in grave danger.

The hard working and courageous peoples of Inner Mongolia, however, never yielded themselves to the reactionary rulers of the past. To liberate their own people, advanced elements of the Mongolian nationality undertook a long period of continued brave struggle and accomplished glorious tasks in the history of their people's liberation. Unfortunately, however, since they had no correct leadership, they never reached their goal of liberation.

In 1921, after the victory of Russia's October Revolution, the Chinese Communist Party was established. Thus the Chinese revolution entered a brand new stage which also pointed out a correct direction of struggle for liberation to the peoples of the various nationalities in Inner Mongolia.

Henceforth, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, the Inner Mongolian peoples' struggle for liberation passed into a new historical period. Their struggle was thus united with the national revolutionary movement and became a constituent part of it.

The common demand of all the peoples in Inner Mongolia was to liberate themselves from oppression and enslavement. After the establishment of the Chinese Communist Party, the Inner Mongolian revolution secured a correct leadership and took the right road. But there still existed a road which was in opposition to the people's road under the leadership of the Party. As soon as the Inner Mongolian revolution was launched, it became a struggle between two roads. One of these two roads was one of compromise with and surrender to the imperialists and the reactionaries within our own country with the feudalistic and upper class elements of Inner Mongolia as its representatives. The other was one which followed the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, resolutely opposed the imperialists and the reactionaries within the country and thoroughly liberated the peoples of Inner Mongolia. It included as its mainstay Inner Mongolia's workers, farmers, cattle-breeders, and revolutionary intellectuals in cooperation with its various revolutionary classes and the masses. The process of Inner Mongolian peoples' liberation was thus the complicated struggle

between the two roads and the process of victory of the people's road over that which was opposed to it.

From 1925 to 1927, in the period of the first Chinese revolutionary war, with the high tide of the nation-wide revolutionary movement the Inner Mongolian revolutionary movement was also spread far and wide. Under the leadership of the Party, the peoples of Inner Mongolia established the Inner Mongolian people's revolutionary party and the federation of the workers, farmers and soldiers. They also trained cadres by great numbers, formed a revolutionary army, widely mobilized the masses and resolutely struggled against the imperialists and feudalists.

In that period, Pai Yun-t'i and others of the feudalistic upper class infiltrated into the Inner Mongolian people's revolutionary party and usurped its leadership. The first revolutionary war failed because of the revolt of the CHIANG Kai-shek reactionary clique. At that time, Pai Yun-t'i and the other false revolutionaries of the feudalistic upper class revealed their true face by betraying the revolutionary cause, selling out the well-being of the peoples of their own nationalities, killing revolutionary comrades and handed the people's armed forces to the reactionary clique of Kuomintang. This resulted in a great loss to the revolutionary movement of the peoples of Inner Mongolia.

After the defeat of the nation's first revolutionary war, the Inner Mongolian revolutionary movement fell into a low tide. Under the leadership of the Party, the Inner Mongolian members of the Party undertook underground struggle to preserve their strength, train cadres and continue to strive for liberation of their nationalities. Some of the troops, which belonged to the Party's military forces, continued their armed struggle for more than a year in the Wu-shen Banner of the I-k'o-chao League. That was the "Tu-kuei-lung" movement led by Hsi-ni Lama (see footnote). At that time, the people of the feudalistic

Footnote:

"Tu-kuei-lung" is a Mongolian expression which means originally a circle. The "Tu-kuei-lung" Movement was a form of struggle of the peoples of the I-k'o-chao League against the reactionary ruling class for the protection

upper class in Inner Mongolia in cooperation with the reactionary clique of Kuomintang undertook the spreading of the white terror to suppress the nationalities liberation movement. Meanwhile they imagined that they could obtain the right to "self-government" from CHIANG Kai-shek as a means to victimize the people.

In 1928, the "Inner Mongolian Delegation", as headed by WU Huo-ling, the feudalistic upper class element, went to Nanking to beg CHIANG Kai-shek for "self-government." The result was that the reactionary clique of Kuomintang did not grant them the right to "self-government," instead, the three original special regions of Inner Mongolia, Jehol, Chahar and Suiyuan, were changed into three provinces. The reactionary CHIANG Kai-shek clique exposed its vicious face of great Hanism by saying: "Aside from allotting one portion of Inner Mongolia to Liaoning Province, the rest should be divided into the three provinces of Jehol, Chahar and Suiyuan. The name of "Inner Mongolia" should henceforth be no longer in existence." (Document from the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Kuomintang reactionary government.)

In 1931, when the Japanese imperialists occupied Manchuria, they established the puppet "Manchoukuo" and the "Hsing-an Headquarters" in the eastern part of Inner Mongolia. In 1935, they further encroached upon the territories of Chahar and Suiyuan provinces. At that time, Te-mu-tsu-k'o-tung-lu-pu, LI Shou-hsin, WU Huo-ling and other feudalistic upper class elements who had begged the reactionary clique of Kuomintang for the right to self-government surrendered themselves to the Japanese bandits, opened the way for Japanese aggression, and established the reactionary and puppet "Mongolia Territory Joint Autonomous Government" to enslave the peoples of the

of their farmland and grazing ground. Those who joined the "Tu-kuei-lung" Movement must sign their names in the form of a circle to the effect that in case the movement failed the enemy would never be able to find out who was the leader of it. The "Tu-kuei-lung" Movement persisted intermittently in I-k'o-chao League for decades before the liberation. Even during the period of the nation's first revolutionary war, Hsi-ni Lama was still using this form of struggle to oppose the reactionary ruling class, though this time under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party.

nationalities of Inner Mongolia. These rebellious and traitorous deeds of the feudalistic upper class elements met with resolute opposition of the various peoples of Inner Mongolia. A fire of wrath thus raged through the region to oppose surrender to the Japanese and insist on fighting to the end. At this time, the Central Committee of the Party sent comrade WANG Jo-fei to lead the Inner Mongolian revolutionary struggle.

In 1932, when the existence of the nation was at stake, the Chinese Communist Party issued a call to "unite all the peoples of the various nationalities in the nation to fight against the Japanese imperialists." Under the leadership of the Party, the peoples of Inner Mongolia who were situated in the forefront of the battle thus bravely engaged themselves in the war against the Japanese. The Party led the fight against the Japanese in Northern Chahar and liberated To-ts'ang with the cooperation of the troops under the leadership of CHI Hung-ch'ang. It also developed work among the masses far and wide, fostered anti-Japanese forces and led workers, soldiers and students in Kueisui and other cities to fight against the Japanese.

In 1936, under the influence of the Party, an armed revolt against the Japanese in Pai-ling-miao took place. The mass struggle against the Japanese led by the Party was an expression of the strong will of the peoples in Inner Mongolia to oppose the Japanese imperialists and obtain their own liberation. They dealt heavy blows to the Japanese bandits, the Mongolian traitors and those who were rebellious against their own nation.

In 1935, the Red Army reached Northern Shensi and the Chinese Communist Party called the peoples of Inner Mongolia to get organized so as to undertake the revolutionary war and chase away the Japanese imperialists and Chinese warlords. The Party also proposed to revoke the division of Inner Mongolia into the three provinces of Jehol, Chahar and Suiyuan by the reactionary clique of Kuomintang, and the establishment of a unified regional self-government by the Inner Mongolian peoples themselves. Such a proposal brought an extremely great encouragement to the peoples of Inner Mongolia who were engaged in the struggle against the Japanese. Meanwhile, the Party established a revolutionary base in the I-k'o-chao League, mobilized the masses with all efforts and organized guerrilla forces. Moreover, it united the upper class

elements into a united front and established a soviet government in the Wu-shen Banner.

In 1937, the Sino-Japanese War officially broke out and Inner Mongolian Party members launched attacks on the Japanese throughout the region. When the Red Army entered the Ta-ch'ing Mountains, the Inner Mongolian Party members in cooperation with the Red Army organized the Mongolian-Han peoples' guerilla forces to start a guerilla warfare against the Japanese and established an anti-Japanese base in the Ta-ch'ing Mountains.

In 1941, the Party established a nationalities college in Yen-an /Northern Shensi/ to train cadres of the minority nationalities as well as Han cadres for work among the minority peoples. While the training program was being carried out, it awaited new developments of the situation.

For more than 20 years, from the founding of the Chinese Communist Party to the victory in the war against the Japanese, the struggle between the people's road and that against the people clearly proved that the road against the people which insisted on compromise with and surrender to the imperialists and the reactionaries within the country would never be able to secure the liberation of the peoples of Inner Mongolia, and that the people's revolutionary road as led by the Party was the only correct one. When crimes of the feudalistic upper class elements for betraying their nation and nationalities were exposed before the people, the Party's clear and glorious policy of opposing imperialists and feudalists and that of promoting equality and unity among the peoples of various nationalities were gradually understood by the Inner Mongolian peoples. The understanding of the people of the Mongolian nationality and those of the other nationalities was greatly heightened, the revolution as led by the Party was gradually growing strong and the road opposing the people was daily going bankrupt.

In August 1945, the Red Army in cooperation with the allied army of the Soviet Union and Mongolia defeated the Japanese imperialists and Inner Mongolia was soon liberated. Under the leadership of the Party we launched a movement for regional self-government by the peoples of various nationalities themselves. At that time, another group of feudalistic upper class elements, replacing Teh-mu-tsu-k'o-tung-lu-pu and others, started a struggle against the

movement for regional self-government as led by the Party. It was a struggle between two roads. The central problem for the two-road struggle was: Must we realize a unified regional self-government in the big family of the fatherland or an "independent self-government" as the feudalistic upper class elements were trying to do? Or, Must we, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, unify the peoples of the various nationalities for realizing a regional self-government or must we replace the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party with that of the so-called "Inner Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party"? The peoples of Inner Mongolia were determined to accept the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and repudiate the leadership of those who attempted to replace the Chinese Communist Party with the so-called "People's Revolutionary Party" which in reality was an expression of the nationalism of the capitalist class. They insisted that the Inner Mongolian revolution was an inseparable part of the Chinese revolution. They were opposed to the nationalistic separationism and isolationism which attempted to isolate the Inner Mongolian revolution from the Chinese revolution so as to weaken the Inner Mongolian revolution and bring it to defeat; they insisted on the policy of securing the help of brother nationalities, especially that of the Han and more especially that of the Han cadres; and they were opposed to anti-foreignism and the mistake of not distinguishing the reactionary ruling and exploiting classes of the Han nationality from its working class.

Since the Inner Mongolian peoples were determined to follow the policy of regional self-government within the big family of the fatherland, the United Association of the Inner Mongolian Self-Government Movement dissolved the so-called "Provisional Government of the Inner Mongolian Republic" which was organized in the Su-ni-t'e-yu Banner of the Hsi-lin-kuo-le League and was under the leadership of the Pu-yen Ta-lai, the Mongolian traitor. And since the masses had accepted the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, in April of 1947 the Inner Mongolian Peoples' Congress was held in Wu-lan-hao-t'e. In that congress, where the winner in the two-road struggle was to be decided, the feudalistic upper class elements were finally defeated and the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region was established with comrade WU Lan-fu as its head. Thus a victory of historical significance was won.

With the establishment of the People's Government

of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, the liberation war and democratic reform became the center of the two-road struggle. The following questions must be answered. Must we positively join the liberation war to win the victory of the Chinese revolution or must we adopt a pessimistic and indifferent attitude toward it? Must we undertake democratic reform so as to enable the Autonomous Region to make democratic progress or must we continue to maintain the feudalistic system? The Inner Mongolian Committee of the Party and its People's Government led the peoples of the region to resolutely struggle against those defeatists for their traitorous activities in plotting to establish an "isolated self-government", "neutrality" and "withdraw from the civil war." They positively joined the righteous liberation war, defeated the joint offensive of the American imperialists and the reactionary clique of Kuomintang and safeguarded the self-government of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region.

Under the leadership of the Party, the peoples of Inner Mongolia also criticized and repudiated the false theories that "since social conditions in Inner Mongolia are peculiar, there is no need of democratic reform" and that "since there is no distinction of social class in Inner Mongolia, there is no need for land reform." They carried out the Land-Reform program and democratic reform in the cattle-breeding areas and thoroughly wiped out the feudalistic exploitation system.

In the period from the time of the victory in the war against the Japanese to the founding of the People's Republic of China, the struggle between the democratic road and the anti-democratic one clearly proved that the road of the feudalistic upper class was one which was against the new democratic revolution, attempted to continue to maintain the dying feudalistic rule and was in harmony neither with the cause of the Chinese revolution nor with the well being of the peoples of Inner Mongolia. It also proved that the new democratic road of revolution as led by the Chinese Communist Party was the only correct one. The anti-people road of the feudalistic upper class elements was thus thoroughly defeated and the Inner Mongolian revolutionary movement victoriously fulfilled its task of democratic revolution thereby entering into the period of socialist revolution.

After the founding of the People's Republic of

China, the socialist reform and construction program in the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region was begun. But the struggle between the two roads never completely ended. Some elements of the feudalistic upper class would not be content with their defeat. In cooperation with the capitalistic nationalists they again launched a struggle between the road of socialism and that of capitalism. These people who vainly attempted to take the capitalistic road shouted that the regional self-government by the people themselves would not solve the nationality problems in Inner Mongolia. Standing on the ground of great nationalism or local nationalism, they were opposed to regional self-government by the people themselves, to the unification of the fatherland and unity of the nationalities as well as to the democratic reform and socialist revolution.

Even after the completion of the socialist reform, there was still a small group of capitalistic nationalists who came out to make the old propaganda, and undertake anti-Party and anti-socialist activities, vainly attempting to turn the wheel back and restore the reactionary rule. At that time, the Party led the people to carry out the socialist reform, undertake socialist revolution on the political-ideological front and launch a struggle against the capitalistic rightist elements and local nationalists. The mad attempt of that small group of capitalistic nationalists was again thoroughly defeated.

The progress of Inner Mongolia's self-government has thus been made through the struggle between the two roads of the people and anti-people, democracy and anti-democracy, socialism and capitalism. Today, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, the awakened peoples of all nationalities in Inner Mongolia will no doubt safeguard their socialist enterprise against encroachment, and rapidly construct the bright and free socialist and communist fatherland and Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region.

THE GRAND AUTONOMOUS POLICY FOR

THE MINORITY NATIONALITIES

[This is a translation of an article written by Hsieh Ho-ch'ou, appearing in Min-tsu T'uen-chieh (Solidarity of Nationalities), Monthly, Peiping, No 1, January 1960, pages 3-6.]

The Chinese Communist Party has always insisted that there should be equality among the nationalities and that the minority peoples should have the right to manage their own internal affairs. As early as in 1929, the Party established more than 10 people's autonomous hsien in the areas of the Chuang and Yao nationalities in Kwangsi Province. In 1935, during the Long March of the Red Army, the Party helped the Tibetan people to establish the "Po-pa Autonomous Government" in the Kan-tzu region of Sikang Province (Po-pa means the Tibetan). The establishment of such autonomous governments was ardently welcomed and supported by the local peoples of the minority nationalities. The Party's nationalities policy helped to mobilize the peoples of the minority nationalities to support and join the revolutionary struggle and left a profound influence upon the masses of the minority nationalities.

On 6 November, 1938, Chairman MAO made a summary explanation of the Party's nationalities policy at the enlarged Sixth Plenum of the Sixth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. He pointed out that the Party "permits the peoples of the Mongolian, Hui, Tibetan, Miao, Yao, I, Fan and other nationalities to have the same equality with the Han people and the rights to manage their own affairs under the common anti-Japanese program, and the obligation of constructing a unified nation in a common effort with the Han people." On the basis of this policy, in the period of the war against the Japanese, the Party concretely carried out the program of regional self-government by the minority peoples themselves.

In 1941, the "Outline Program of Administration for the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Government" was published in which the rules for establishing regional nationalities self-government were clearly stated. It said: "On the

basis of equality for all nationalities, equal rights in political and economic affairs must be accorded to the peoples of the Mongolian, Hui and Han nationalities and Mongolian and Hui autonomous regions must be established." On the basis of this stipulation, Hui people's autonomous hsiang were established in the Kuan-chung area and Ting-pien Hsien and a Mongolian people's autonomous region was also established in Ch'eng-ch'uan. Through such a practice, we initially accumulated some experience in establishing regional nationality autonomous governments.

In 1947, when the liberation war was raging throughout the nation, the Party led the Mongolian peoples to establish the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region. At that time, Chairman MAO congratulated the peoples of Inner Mongolia for the establishment of their autonomous region and expressed his most sincere concern, expectation and good wishes. In his telegraphic message to the Inner Mongolian peoples' congress, he said: "Under the leadership of you deputies, the peoples of Inner Mongolia who have undergone all sorts of sufferings are creating a new, free and glorious history.

We are confident that the peoples of Inner Mongolia will intimately unite themselves with the people of Han and those of the other nationalities and will engage in a common effort to struggle for the elimination of oppression and feudalism and for the construction of a new Mongolia and a new China. May victory be yours!"

The founding of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region greatly facilitated the unity and mobilization of the peoples of the minority nationalities in the region for joining the great struggle against the imperialists, feudalists and bureaucratic compradores and for speeding up the victory of the people's democratic revolution. Meanwhile, through our self-government in Inner Mongolia we accumulated a great deal of important experience which served as a good model for the establishment of autonomous governments in other areas of minority nationalities in the nation. Such an experience of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region has been highly esteemed by the Party and the peoples of all the nationalities throughout the nation and has become an important reference for universally establishing regional nationality autonomous governments since the liberation.

In September 1949, the eve of the liberation of the whole of China, the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, which was held under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, on the basis of the Party's suggestion, added a special article concerning regional nationality autonomous government to the nationalities policy section of the Common Program. It read: "In the areas where there is a mixture of the peoples of minority nationalities there shall be regional autonomous governments by the peoples themselves and a variety of self-government organizations shall be established according to the ratio of the populations of each of the nationalities in the region and the size of the region itself." This stipulation of this article is in reality a summary of the Party's experience in establishing regional autonomous governments in the old liberated areas and its application and development under the new conditions.

After the founding of the People's Republic of China the nationalities policy of the Common Program has been universally carried out and regional nationality autonomous governments have been positively established. In 1950 and 1951, central government visiting groups were sent to visit areas of the minority nationalities and report to the peoples the deep concern of the Party and Chairman Mao about them. During their visits, they at the same time helped local Party and government organizations to plan and establish some nationality autonomous areas and organs. The Tibetan Autonomous Region in Sikang Province which was established in December 1950 by a government visiting group while visiting the North-western area, is the earliest and largest nationality autonomous region ever established after the liberation.

In January of 1951, one of the resolutions of the State Council concerning nationalities affairs stated that the Military-Political Committee of each Administrative Region must direct the people's governments at the provincial, city and town levels to earnestly implement the regional nationality autonomous policy. Henceforth, the establishment of nationality autonomous areas was further expanded. By June 1952, about 130 such nationality autonomous areas of all levels had been established which consist of a total population of about 4,500,000 people. In every such autonomous area there has been a growing prosperity as never before seen in history.

To further implement the Party's nationalities policy, especially the regional nationality autonomous policy, and carry out the principal directives which had been issued by Chairman MAO and the People's Government in the past concerning regional nationality autonomous governments, the Nationalities Affairs Commission of the People's Government, following the decision of the State Council, called the second enlarged committee meeting in December 1951 with representatives from peoples of all the nationalities in the nation in attendance. This meeting made a summary of the experiences in establishing regional nationality autonomous governments and proposed a draft resolution of "the basic program of regional nationality autonomous governments." This program was approved by the committee of the People's Government in 1952 and was published for implementation by the order of Chairman MAO.

In the general principles of this program it is stated that all the nationality autonomous areas are an inseparable part of the territory of the People's Republic of China under the leadership of the Central People's Government, that they must follow the general line as stated in the Common Program and that they must establish autonomous governments in the areas where there is a mixture of the peoples of the minority nationalities.

From that time on, the work of establishing regional nationality autonomous governments throughout the nation made further progress and achieved notable results. By March of 1953, the number of the peoples of the minority nationalities in the nation's autonomous areas had reached more than 10 million. At the time, the People's Government's Commission of Nationalities Affairs in its third enlarged meeting made a summary of its experiences in implementing the regional nationality autonomous government policy. It proposed that in all such autonomous areas we must fully consider the special characteristics of the various minority peoples and their concrete local conditions, that we must strengthen and fortify the unity of the people of each nationality and that among those of all the nationalities, that we must gradually let the local peoples "nationalize" their autonomous government organizations, that we must step by step help these people to exercise their rights for autonomous government and that under permissible conditions we must do everything possible to develop their political, economic and cultural enterprises. These are all most precious experiences

whose correct application in concrete work later served a great function in further implementing the Party's regional nationality autonomous policy.

In September 1954, the Constitution of the People's Republic of China was published. The wish of the peoples of all the nationalities in our country for establishing a strong, unified and united great fatherland and for the prosperity of their own nationalities was thus fully expressed in the Constitution. The successful experience of our nation's minority peoples in autonomous government in the past several years was also fully reflected in the Constitution and went through an important development. The Constitution serves as a legal guarantee for the minority peoples to establish autonomous regions, chou, hsien and other organizations in their areas of residence to exercise their rights for autonomous government.

The organizations of a nationality autonomous region, chou or hsien not only replace the central government's local administrative organizations but also can exercise their rights as guaranteed by the Constitution and the law to manage local financial affairs, organize local public security forces according to the government's military system and make autonomous government regulations and locally enforced rules to suit the local political, economic and cultural characteristics. The government organs in a nationality autonomous region are established according to the wishes of the majority of the local peoples and in their administration the language commonly used in the area must be used. Even if there is only one hsiang in which the people of one or more nationalities live, a nationality autonomous hsiang should be established for them.

The publication of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China has greatly encouraged the peoples of the minority nationalities to construct socialist autonomous governments and a socialist fatherland. In 1955, the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region was established, and in 1958 the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous region and the Ninghsia Hui Autonomous Region were also established. By that time, with the exception of the Tibetan people, all the other areas in our nation where there was a concentration of the peoples of minority nationalities had established first class autonomous regions of the pro-

vincial level and fulfilled their wish of being able to be the masters of their own nationality affairs and practice self-government. This was a great victory for the thorough implementation of the Party's nationalities policy.

Meanwhile many autonomous chou and hsien were also established. By September 1959, there had been established four autonomous regions, 29 autonomous chou and 54 autonomous hsien, and the people who were exercising their rights for autonomous government had reached over 95 percent of the total number of the peoples of the minority nationalities in our nation. Our nation's great historical task of establishing regional nationality autonomous governments and administrative organs was thus basically completed.

The Tibetans in Tibet proper, like the peoples of the other minority nationalities in the nation, have the right to regional autonomous government within the unified big family of our fatherland. The People's Government has always thought that, under the unified leadership of the Central People's Government, Tibet should resolutely practice regional autonomous government. As early as in 1951 when Tibet was peacefully liberated, it was stated in the third article of the Agreement between the Central People's government and the Tibetan local government concerning the peaceful liberation of Tibet that "According to the Nationalities Policy of the Common Program of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, the Tibetan people, under the unified leadership of the Central Government, shall have the right to regional autonomous government." But because of the opposition of the reactionary clique of the upper class in Tibet, the implementation of the articles of the Agreement has been obstructed.

Although the Preparatory Committee of the Tibetan Autonomous Region was organized according to the decision of the State Council in April 1956, this organization which has the actual political power of regional autonomous government could not smoothly carry out its work. In March 1959, after the suppression of the rebellion started by the reactionary clique of the upper class of Tibet, the Tibetan people obtained a new life and the Preparatory Committee of the Tibetan Autonomous Region began to exercise its rights for autonomous government.

With the smooth expansion of the work of the Preparatory Committee, we believe that the long and urgent wish of the Tibetan people for autonomous government will fully be fulfilled in the near future.

All the regional nationality autonomous governments of different levels have been established after a full consultation by the representatives of the various nationalities in the locality and agreement by the peoples themselves. There are three types of autonomous regions, chou or hsien: (1) the autonomous area where the people of only one minority nationality live such as the Kan-tzu Tibetan Autonomous Chou in Szechuan Province; (2) the autonomous area which is comparatively large with people of one minority nationality as the major population plus subareas of small numbers of peoples of other minority nationalities such as the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region which has as its major population the Uighur people but includes five autonomous chou and six autonomous hsien established by the Kazaks, Kirghis, Sibos, Tajiks, Mongolians and the Huis; and (3) the autonomous area which is established jointly by peoples of two or more minority nationalities such as Pu-i and Miao Autonomous Chou in Southern Kweichow Province and the Miao and T'ung Autonomous Chou in the South-Eastern part of the same province, the Hai-hsi Mongolian-Tibetan-Kazak Autonomous Chou in Tsinghai Province, and the Lung-Sheng Multi-Nationality Autonomous Hsien in the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region.

All of these different types and sizes of regional nationality autonomous governments were established on the basis of local nationality relations, future economic development, historical background, equality and the willingness of the peoples themselves. Thus we have been able to adjust to the geographic location of our nation's minority peoples and fulfill, to the highest possible degree, their wish for obtaining the rights to be masters in managing their own affairs of a local nature.

The minority nationality autonomous areas in our nation, in general, include cities and towns of the Han people. In some of these areas the number of Han people even exceeds that of the minority peoples. Since during a long historical development the Han people and those of the minority nationalities have formed an intimate

relationship in economic, cultural and political affairs, it is quite notable that they live and mingle with each other everywhere. To help each minority people with their own development and promote a common development of peoples of all the minority nationalities, the Party and the Government, in carrying out the regional nationality autonomous policy, have persuaded the Han people to unite and cooperate with the minority peoples in all the autonomous areas. In this way it will be beneficial to both the minority peoples and to the Han in striving for a common development and prosperity.

In carrying out the regional nationality autonomous policy and undertaking socialist construction in the autonomous areas, the Party and Government have thoroughly protected the rights of the minority peoples to self-government. The most important of all has been the training of cadres of the minority nationalities. Through increasingly intensified study of Marxism-Leninism and the MAO Tse-tung thought, the socialist-communist consciousness of the cadres of the minority nationalities has been constantly raised and, through them, the masses of their nationalities have also been united and educated. Such a study has helped these cadres to overcome the tendency of capitalistic nationalism, enabled them to whole-heartedly serve the interests of the fatherland and the peoples of the various nationalities. It has also encouraged them to make effort for constantly strengthening the unity and cooperation among the various minority peoples and for fortifying the unification of the fatherland.

In the past few years, for the purpose of socialist revolution and construction, we have trained more than 480,000 cadres, over one half million Party members and over 900,000 members of the Young Communist League, all of whom are of the minority nationalities. In all the regional autonomous government organizations the nationality cadres are the chief executives to manage the internal affairs of their respective nationalities which are of a local nature. The patriotic people of the middle and upper classes of the local nationalities have also been widely united and been absorbed into these autonomous and other organizations and assigned work to do.

The regulations of the autonomous organizations and the distribution of personnel in an area where there are

several minority peoples have made provisions for the various peoples in the area to fully exercise their rights to self-government, guaranteed equality to the peoples of all the local nationalities and shown special concern about the people or peoples that are comparatively small in number. In this way it is extremely beneficial to the autonomous organizations to intimately unite the local peoples of the various nationalities and facilitate cooperation among them.

The regional nationality autonomous government policy is a basic policy for solving the nationalities problems of our nation which the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman MAO formulated by applying the Marxist-Leninist theory of nationalities to the concrete nationality problems of China. The implementation of this policy has greatly facilitated the unification of the fatherland, safeguarded the equality among the nationalities, strengthened their unity and promoted their common development. Facts have proven that such a policy is the most correct way of solving our nationality problems under the concrete conditions of our country.

The unification of the fatherland is the highest good of the peoples of all the nationalities in our country and the most basic condition for constructing a socialist fatherland which is prosperous and strong. If there is no such a unification, there will be no smooth socialist construction and neither will there be development and prosperity for the peoples of all the nationalities. The nationalities policy has fully realized this highest good of all the peoples of our nation. The implementation of nationality autonomous policy has highly raised the patriotism of the peoples of the various minority nationalities and strengthened the relationship among them. As a result, these peoples have united politically as one body, expressed unlimited loyalty and love for our socialist fatherland, taken positive part in all the political and social activities of the Party and Government, protected the interests of the Party and the Government and safeguarded the national defense lines of our great fatherland. In the socialist revolution and construction, the peoples of the various nationalities are determined to follow the Party's general line for socialist construction with one heart, one mind and absolute unity, and they are taking big steps to march courageously on the socialist highway under the guidance of the Party.

The establishment of regional nationality autonomous governments is the chief sign of the equality of all nationalities in our country. The establishment of such autonomous governments has fulfilled the wish which was long cherished by the peoples of the minority nationalities for nationality equality and for being masters of their own internal affairs. It has also enabled them to better develop their own political, economic and cultural affairs according to the actual conditions and characteristics of their respective nationalities. Only in a unified big family of the fatherland and on the basis of equality for all the nationalities can the peoples unite and cooperate with each other, construct a great fatherland and manage its affairs as a common effort. Only in this way can it be beneficial to the common development and prosperity of all the nationalities in the nation.

The realization of nationality equality and the obtaining of the rights for self-government has greatly raised the positiveness and active spirit of the minority peoples for socialist revolution and construction. This has not only facilitated the nation's socialist construction program but also, within the short period of 10 years, rapidly changed the backward political, economic and cultural conditions of the minority peoples and enabled them to take the road which leads to development and prosperity.

The implementation of the regional nationality autonomous policy has strengthened the brotherly unity and mutual trust among the people of each nationality itself and among those of all the nationalities. The establishment of the various regional nationality governments and the achievements they have made have all been done on the basis of unity and cooperation among all the peoples. The establishment of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region and the incorporation of the former Suiyuan Province and several other areas into its territory has been a great step taken by the Party and Government to solve our nationality problems with the spirit of equality, unity and mutual help. The brotherly unity between the Mongolian and the Han peoples has served as a glorious example for all the nationalities of our country. Likewise, the establishment of the Uighur Autonomous Region in Sinkiang Province which consists of 13 minority peoples and the Chuang Autonomous Region in Kwangsi Province and the Hui Autonomous Region in Ninghsia Province, both

of which have the Han people as the majority of their population, have lively shown the intimate unity and cooperation among the peoples of our nation.

Of the 63 million and more people in the 87 nationality autonomous areas in the whole nation over 36 million are the Han people and almost every one of these autonomous areas consists of peoples of several nationalities. In all of these autonomous areas, the peoples of the various nationalities live in harmony and constantly expand the socialist nationality relationship, especially for the construction of the big family of the fatherland and their respective autonomous areas.

To strengthen the unity of the various peoples, when the Party organizations and the self-government organs of the autonomous areas deal with problems concerning the mutual relations of the various nationalities, they earnestly attempt to solve them on the basis of "mutual respect, mutual help, each finds its proper place and common prosperity;" and when they deal with some special problems having to do with a certain minority people, they would find a solution by consulting with the representatives of other nationalities involved in the problems and securing their agreement. Through consultation and mediation, the historical quarrels which were instigated by the exploiting class among the peoples of various nationalities have all been eliminated. Now the new nationality relationship of unity, brotherly love, mutual help, cooperation and common development has replaced that of opposition, quarrels and isolation among the people of each nationality itself and among those of the various nationalities a relationship which was manufactured by the imperialists and the reactionary ruling class within the nation itself.

The implementation of the regional nationality autonomous policy has forcefully promoted the rapid development of political, economic and cultural enterprises in the autonomous areas of the minority peoples. Premier CHOU En-lai in his report on political work at the First Session of the Second National People's Congress said: "In our nation, all the peoples of the various nationalities not only have political equality, but also the peoples who are more advanced and are of the majority have the responsibility of helping those who are comparatively backward and are of the minority, so that all may advance

and develop together."

In the past few years, the Government and Han people have made a great effort to help the various nationality autonomous areas with manpower, material power, financial power and through other ways. Meanwhile, the minority peoples in the autonomous areas have also mobilized their enthusiasm, striven to proceed up-stream, learned from the advanced, attempted to surpass the advanced and invigorated their working spirit. They have not only developed the various types of their local construction but also exhausted their efforts to support the nation's socialist construction. The actual inequality of our nation's nationalities in economic and cultural affairs has been increasingly eliminated. In the past 10 years, the great achievements in economic and cultural construction, in our nation's minority nationality areas, especially the unprecedented great accomplishments in socialist construction leap forward in the past two years, have been the inevitable results brought about by our nation's socialist system and the great victory of the Party's nationalities policy.

To correctly carry out the regional nationality autonomous policy, we must resolutely oppose and repudiate capitalistic nationalism and its influence upon the nationality autonomous areas and we must educate the cadres and the peoples of the various nationalities with proletarian internationalism and patriotism. Capitalistic nationalism - the great Hanism and local nationalism - is a reflection of capitalistic thinking in nationality relations. If such thinking is not repudiated and overcome it will be harmful to the unification of the fatherland and the unity and cooperation of the various nationalities. Moreover, if it is not repudiated we will not be able to thoroughly carry out the regional nationality autonomous policy and our socialist construction will be affected.

Regarding the tendency of capitalistic nationalism, the Party and the Government emphatically criticized and repudiated great Hanism and local nationalism in 1953 and 1957 respectively, thereby leading the peoples of the various nationalities to undertake a solemn struggle. As a result, their mistaken thinking and tendencies were corrected and the healthy and smooth progress of the administrative work of the nationality autonomous areas was guaranteed. Meanwhile, the cadres and peoples of the

various nationalities were profoundly educated and their socialist consciousness was also highly raised. This is an important aspect of the great victory of our nation's socialist revolution on its political and ideological front.

At the present time, the great and glorious task before the peoples of all the nationalities is to speedily develop socialist productive power and strive to construct our nation in the next 15 or 20 years or an even longer period into a strong socialist country with highly developed modern industry, agriculture, science and culture. Only when such a task is accomplished can we basically change the backward economic and cultural conditions in our nation's minority nationality areas and bring about a common economic and cultural prosperity.

The regional nationality autonomous policy has in the past served great functions in fortifying the unity of the fatherland, in strengthening the unity of the various peoples and in developing the economy and culture of the nationality autonomous areas. We are confident that in the future it will continue to serve its unique and glorious functions in the great and difficult task of constructing our nation into a strong socialist country.